5: Kennedy--1 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

FIELD NOTES ON INDONESIA, 1949-1950

PART III

FLORES

Roworeke - Wailolong - Weol (Veol)

Flores (preliminary): I talked with Riekerk, 124 who was there three years ago, and got this: 647 The Assistant Resident at Ende is Twerida; the 485 Controleurs are Hettinga and Ariens; the Finance man is Fekkes. There are government station houses (pasanggrahans) at least in Ende, Detusoko, Wolowaru, Larantuka, Badjawa, Ruteng, Reo, and a place ten kilometers from Maumere.

131 Distances are: Maumere--Larantuka 130 km., Maumere--Ende 140 km., Ende--Badjawa 125 km., Badjawa--Ruteng 125 km., Ruteng--Reo 60 km. Running times, respectively, are 4, 5, 5, 6, and 2 hours.

634 The kepala daerah is the Radja of Sikka, Dom Tomas da Silva.

124 Possible kampongs for investigation are Sita, 50 km. south of Ruteng, or Ruteng kampong or one nearby, for Manggerai; Wologai, 50 km. east of Ende, and there is a pasanggrahan at Ndetosoko, 9 km. to the south, or a part of Ende itself, or Roworeke (population: five hundred) 161 near Ende in the hills, for Ende. The population of Ende is five thousand. The population of Maumere is about the same.

634 Kringa is the center of Tana Ai. There are many troubles here over the succession of the radjas and it has resulted in a number of difficult cases. He says to watch out.

634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.

622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.

631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.

124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
●124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

634 Keo), and the kapitan from Gunung Rodja (the
124 southern half of Ende town). After a long sales talk, the Radja offered all of his aid and said that on the next morning the kapitan of Gunung Rodja (evidently a kind of crony of the Radja, and one who usually wears an overseas cap, even while eating) would come to the pasanggrahan and take us to Roworeke. Meanwhile I asked a-
[611] bout Tana Ai, and they knew that it was matrilineal. Then the hadji from Keo said that it was matrilineal too, which was news to me. Then I asked about Wolo Wae, and they said it was in the mountains to the north, in Ende.
614 They seemed to think it was matrilineal too. I
582 then asked about clan exogamy and they said
178 that Mohammedanism was breaking it down, just as had happened in Tulehu in Ambon. But as in Ambon, clan exogamy is kept by the Christians here.

583 Incidentally, the priest in Ndetosoko said
178 that the Catholics are in favor of keeping the
797 bride price, as it strengthens marriages.

We finally left, and the next morning the
124 kapitan of Gunung Rodja appeared without his overseas cap. We got into the jeep and went to Roworeke, but the kapitan there was again in the garden. We went to kilometer 10 and saw the kapitan with several men wading across the river to the garden on the other side. We called him back and he got in suspiciously and we then drove back to his house. There he called the kepala kampong of Watu Roga. This fellow was a relative of his, an old man with an old sarong and short betel teeth, who looked somewhat like a Toradja. Later he called the djurutulis [scribe].

I gave a long sales talk and the kapitan
124 warmed up. The kapitan of Gunung Rodja helped
634 out and was quite enthusiastic. He is evidently
632 a powerful man, but the Controleur says that the

124
634
632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634
621
648 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is part of the state of Lio, is along the road in front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both
632 Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621
632 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitanschappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[197] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
●124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

621R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
178 patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
578 material culture and in level of living the young
561 people are not much different from the old. They do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

347 The next day we set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
●124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor. In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

1 [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

R

124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 197 829 We started, as usual, with social organization and had a terrible time with it. They are all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 621 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

	My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1.	Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2.	Worowai	Woro Wae
3.	Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4.	Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5.	Arereke	Are Reke
6.	Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7.	Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8.	Koavena	Koa Wena
9.	Vavoeü	Wawo Eoe
10.	Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11.	Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12.	Nioreko	Nio Reko

R

632 then announces the chosen candidate. He has veto
624 power, and if he says no to a candidate, it is
final. The kapitan must come from either Re-
[614] warangga or Odja suku. If all agree, and the
giri tumba also agrees, they may choose a man
from Reandona suku, but this has never happened.
[178] In the old days the kapitan happened always
632 to be from Rewarangga suku, but recent ones have
565 been from Odja. If the present kapitan dies,
614 there would be about ten eligible candidates. I
611 think this means ten from Odja. These include
171 the sons of the old kapitan plus others from
eligible families. But there are over a hundred
families in Odja. Thus only certain families
are of the bangsawan high enough to be eligible
for kapitan. I could not get it straight who
these families are, but evidently they represent
the descendants of the great ancestor of the suku
Odja in the direct male line. This is always via
the oldest son. Thus the oldest branch of the
oldest branch, etc., as in Polynesia.

I asked if there was a name for the set of
613 noble kapitan families in Odja, and they finally
565 said, after much argument, Djo'bi Bene. To this
632 "lineage" belong the present kapitan, the scribe,
and the giri tumba. The kapitan came in and gave
the family tree of the lineage. So far as I
could see, it ran:

1. Neni
2. Djata
3. Odja
4. Koru Rudja
5. Djo'bi Bene

Thus these are the next ones to Djo'bi Bene.
I must come back again and find out exactly who
Djo'bi Bene was, and where his grave is located,
• [124] etc. This was frustrating, and I could not get
it straight at first. I was always worried about
the loss of time in such slow questioning.

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there, and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer type, and it is strange that she is not married. I get the idea there is some friction between her and her father. She had five years of schooling at the sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office), and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daughter says this is all right as she was from Larantuka. If she were from any kampong behind the mountain, this would have been impossible. The house was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter. The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

● 124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We talked a great deal about adat and then came back to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kampong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the sea, and here there were many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong for this). Women were also hauling water from this place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon. There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as many as one hundred houses and a possible population of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

We

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
● 124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

578 721 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 611 237 [556] The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak can occur. In the latter case a daughter or daughters are given to the family in place of the price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 766 I was told that they used to put the bodies of the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 621 578 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to get the assistant matter straightened out. It is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

000 trols this atomism.

124 212 115 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamië had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 178 872 We talked about the way the old stories are dying out and the young people won't listen any more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 622 693 614 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang where they were to have a case hearing. It is evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several [30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a 614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

● 124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1] social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
• [124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

R

166 property and status are kept for them. If any youth wants to go out to seek his fortune, his family and the kampong officers oppose this. They do not want people to leave. There is a [186] strong sense of localism here. For example, [829] I asked why they knew so little about the kampongs which are not far away from them when I had come all the way from the United States to find out something about them. They said that they never went to other kampongs unless it was necessary. This seems to be the Flores pattern.

166 Very few people have immigrated. There are some from other kampongs in Ende and Lio, and in fact these areas account for the examples of immigration aside from the women coming to marry in. Normally, women who marry men from another kampong go to live with their husbands. There are a few individuals from Savu, one [563] Chinese family, and a fair number of Ende town folk on the lower border. They are not members of the kampong.

423 There are evidently two kinds of land: the kampong land in the older parts of the kampong, which is used by members; and border land, which used to belong to Ende or other kampongs and which was bought by either the kampong folk or the Ende folk who live there. Thus the borders have expanded by the latter means. The fields may be used only four to five years and then must lie fallow for a long time. I must get more on the system of land ownership.

614 I had a hard time getting the truth about the
124 suku organization from these people. They are dumber here than in Larantuka by far, and they have lost much more of the memory of the actual rules involved. Still, in Larantuka, I notice that I have to ask many people in order to get answers to some of the complicated questions, for example, in regard to marriage rules. But

R

614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got to the point where they said that there are really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
[622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They know this. I asked who were really higher in rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong, and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

614 There is no question here but that the Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

311
241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great economic problem.

114 He said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scho-
●124 lars' findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

611 I think he[1] said it is possible to pay part of
614 the bride price and then to give some of the
583 children to the mother's group. This is not so
582 important, however, as the usual marriage is endogamous. They prefer to marry within the sib. They may marry out also. They have the same term for all cousins, and may marry with any cross or parallel cousin. Descent is patrilineal. Female descent is traced too, and thus there may occur cases of double descent with patrilineal emphasis and endogamy and clans. This is remarkable.

784 They also have totemism here with animal de-
824 scent and tree descent. A member may not kill or eat the animal totem and may not cut or burn or use in any way the wood of the tree totem.
583 Two of the latter are ficus and lontar. The
554 amount to be paid as a bride price is a matter of pride. Many kampongs have only one voi,
614 but others have several.

197 The language of Ngada is related to that of
193 Ende and is very close to Nageh. Manggarai speech, however, is quite different. Arndt says there are no affixes in Ngada, but instead they use particles.

614 Correction: Not all voi have women as an-
565 cestors, but most of them do. There are four
582 classes (not three as van Staveren[2] says). These are the nobles (ata gai or gai meze), upper commoners (ata gisa or gai giza), lower commoners (azi ana) and slaves (ata hoŏ). An upper woman may never marry a lower man, but the reverse is all right. The peo still stand.

● 124 We talked about the possibility of working in a Ngada kampong, but the Soa area has already been covered, and Arndt has a book nearly ready on the sociology of Ngada. There is practically nothing on Manggarai, so we decided to go to Ruteng first. We left in the afternoon, and after a hard drive, largely in the rain, we

1 [i.e., Arndt, pastor in Ngada area--Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, ent. 113--Analyst]

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly
proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid
blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

We The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[793] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here,
241 and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
364 methods are better and so are the houses, and the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex arrangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
55 guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

• 124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
177

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

We

241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.
527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

●124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. I got a real rise when I asked him 776 784 about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh 124 tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must 824 have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read 769 that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

243 where around the earthen plaza there are corn
251 drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive. Every-

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

132 From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
● 124 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However, when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

574 He furnished us with fair food, rice and chicken, and coffee, and then fixed up the beds without mosquito nets in one room. The son of
872 the mandur of the pasanggrahan of Badjawa was with us, on his way to school in Ende, and he had a little packet of clothes, a canteen and a ukulele. The latter was in sad condition.
484 He slept on the floor on a mat. The next morning we just about made it across the river with our goods lifted by the men in order to lighten the jeep. This was a hard experience, and we decided to make the western run only once
132 more, at the end. This rainy season is too hard here and it is dangerous because there is always a risk of delay from floods or landslides. Ende seemed luxurious after this run to the west.

124 The assistant was in Ende for a tax meeting of kapitan, and after noon I took him and the kapitan and the latter's servant to Roworeke. They had to work on taxation in the afternoon, so I decided to start in tomorrow morning. Roworeke, as usual, is always troublesome. The jeep was overcrowded with many riders. I took them out, and came back with a load.

Incidental notes on Flores: We saw the use
482 of a tumpline in Sikka. This is true also for Nageh and Ngada. They use this for carrying loads especially in Sikka and also for betel ingredients in Ngada. They use small plaited bags.

Girls in Ngada and Nageh have half-shaved
302 tonsures. This is not true of all, but certainly of many of the girls. There are variations in style, including topknots. I note the latter on boys too.

721 A Ngada man denied head-hunting at any time
346 and said that there is no head under the new
231 ndaru, but rather a red dog, a pig, and a cock, all buried alive. But ENI says that there was
[554] head-hunting and that Ngada heroes had goatskin bands under their knees formerly.

R

443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

124 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

R

778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
●124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

R

000 since then there have been no wars.

614 574 692 624 The great suku feasts are a kind of refresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku of the area come and feast and pledge friendship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] [342] [178] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed animals. Nowadays he throws them away after eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 533 [124] As for legends and stories of the past, at first they said that they have none, or rather that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat.113--Analyst]

The Demon or
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
924 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

Wai
●124 has also adopted the term kekuatan adjaib, and loves it.

582
614 The rules are as follows:

Wailolong man	marries	Leloba woman
I		II-2, III
II		II-2, III
III		I-2, I-3a, IV
IV		I-1, II-1
V		I-1a

Thus no man of Wailolong marries a Lewodoreng woman of Leloba.

Leloba man	marries	Wailolong woman
I-1a		V
I-1b		III
I-2		I
I-3a		?
I-3b		I
II-1		III
II-2		IV
III-1		IV, V
III-2		IV, V
III-3		IV, V
IV-1a		I-c
IV-1b		I-c
V-1		I, II
V-2		I, II

614
565 This brought out certain problems with the material recorded earlier. The subsibs in each suku are ranked according to first, second, and in some cases third. The terms are waru'i, waktukang, and tuhowutung. These mean, approximately, first, middle and last. Now we see that certain suku, subsuku, and sub-subsuku names are of one kind and some of another, and some have two names showing different meanings. These

582 I asked if there were many marriages between
614 Wailolong and Leloba. He said that before
177 there were many because they were allies and
578 nearby. In 1912, however, when the Dutch came
797 in, his father, who was the head man of Leloba, decided it was useless to fight. Wailolong, however, decided to resist. This strained the friendly relations which had existed before, and until recently there have not been too many marriages. I also wonder, inasmuch as he mentioned in this connection that missionaries entered the region in 1907, whether the more rapid Christianization of Leloba might not also have strained relations with the relatively resistant Wailolong.

124 After telling me that he was in fine spirits
177 because my pyribenzamine had cured his asthma,
578 he said he was also happy because he got such
123 a fine reception in Wailolong when he went from
609 house to house getting the census material. He had been afraid of this, and thought that the people would snub him. This would have made him much ashamed. This was also why he insisted that we get the kakang to order the Wailolong folk to give the information. Now he reports that he was received with open arms and that the Wailolong folk say they are delighted that a big man of Leloba is coming among them to work, and that also big men from the United States are getting their names and their customs down on paper. They said that they felt submerged for many years (and their kampong looks a bit dingy and dispirited) and that now they are having a rise. It looks to me as though Roy really feared a bad time, and this shows that the probable relations between these two communities were really distant until we came. We may have brought peace and good
609 will to the two kampongs. It is also amusing
123 to note his remark that when we first appeared,

831 614 241 796 784 goat; and buffalo?). During other months they may eat such food. This figures out to be roughly about one half of the year. Some of the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we 115 were finishing up the work he got a note telling 124 him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

632 796 The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting [621] around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

578 721 We asked about the bonds of friendship and enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

We.

764 bells in the chapel tolled and the service was held. The body was buried in the cemetery.

Roy has been full of life since I gave him
•124 some medicine for his asthma. He jokes and
123 laughs. He had a meeting of the Red Cross yesterday, and the Radja and Dr. Sutomo and other notables were there. He knocked them out with the new words he has learned from me (sistim, desas-desus, kekuatan adjaib, etc.). They asked how this came about, and he said that the American professor was responsible. He told the priest that I was better than Vatter,[1] as we talk over each point at length, and I tell him details too, and then we discuss everything. Also, he says, everything is told to me and nothing is hidden, as he puts it. He tells the people, even in front of me, that I am like a suwanggi, because I learn so fast and come with material that an outsider should not know, and because I anticipate things that are not yet told. At one point, he said that I could join up and become a member of the Kottang sib.

The ratio between men and women here is about
162 fifty-fifty. They think this is all right.
793 Perhaps only two per cent of the women never
589 marry, and it is exceedingly rare to find an old bachelor. There are no nuns or priests in Wailolong yet. Leloba has one nun now. There is a case in Lewohala at the present time of a father making a terrific fuss because his daughter wants to become a nun and his son wants to go to a seminary. (Is he a pagan?)

586 Formerly there was no divorce according to
178 adat. There are two pagan cases in Wailolong and this is considered new.

684 I asked about adultery, and Roy said that in the old days if there was a case of adultery, the woman remained the man's wife, but a fine had to be paid. Or, if the couple were found

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

634 632 197 Until 1 not so long ago there were three radjas there: Sikka, Kangaë and Nita, and there was trouble over putting Sikka in full power. This has never stopped. Arriens[2] agrees that the Dutch were a bit mad to chop things up this way. When he was new here the Assistant Resident sent him to Tana Ai to find out what the situation was. He found that the kapitan there had had a previous meeting with the kepalas warning them to say that everything was all right. Arriens pumped them and the whole thing came out. The Dutch, he said, met the radjas they liked and took their word to the effect that their areas were much larger than they actually were. (But why not try to make a better go of it later on, when they still were able to do as they pleased?) There is little excuse for the stupidity of the government. He has also [661] heard of the fantastic behavior in regard to the rulers here, many of whom are crazy and others are certainly cruel. I can imagine the dirty work which goes on among the radjas. This must end.

697 526 In regard to the "jail parade" in Ruteng, Arriens[2] said that in Kalabahi [on Alor], when it is Queen's Day, the regular event is a tug of war between teams of jail birds. They do this with a will, and after it each one gets a cake of soap.

R Roworeke: I started to work again here on Thursday, January 11. It is depressing to be 124 624 with these inferior informants again after working with the guru Roy, but the secretary is better now since the kapitan is not here. Today two of the four mandurs of Roworeke were present and also the kepala kampong of Wolofeo. His kampong is located at kilometer 17 and is one kilometer up hill from the road. However, he has a house in Roworeke too. When he is away, the mandur is his deputy.

[1] [Liaison in Tana Ai--Analyst]
[2] [Liaison, Controleur at Ende--Analyst]

R

836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

797 Waibalun?). There must have been hundreds of them in this procession. Following this there was a long parade of a lot more. Perhaps this was the Confreria Santa Maria, the underground men's organization that kept Catholicism going in the kampongs during the long time when the Portuguese missionaries were not here. The second guru in Leloba told me that the white sheet cloak I saw on him as he was leading a funeral last week was the robe of the Confreria. In spite of everything, the mission is the only modern, efficient, and perhaps one of the few honest (how honest?) things in Flores.

377 181 I am glad I shall be leaving this truly forsaken island before long. It gets on one's nerves. One can't buy anything, few places have electric lights (the ones here just went off, but miraculously came on again after a few minutes), everything is broken down, the people are stupid, the radjas are hopeless.

●124 Larantuka: I spent a final three days in Leloba finishing up the schedule on Wailolong, and it was lucky I did this, because, as usual, my assistants (the same everywhere in Indonesia so far, except in Makassar) did not finish the answers. They did do the census and the map. Anyway, I got onto the schedule at once, covering old spots which were not filled in yet, and finishing what was left undone.

We 648 361 In 1913 the Dutch forced the people to move down from the old hill location to the present location of Wailolong. Formerly, it was located one-half kilometer from Leloba. Then, in 1922, it was allowed to move back, but it moved not all the way back to its former location, but only as far as it is now. This whole business is typical of the Dutch administration in the worst days, when, for the sake of "peace, order, and taxes," and for all I know, the mission, they made these poor people move out of the

War

727 was then that Keweluk said it was taboo to kill,
266 (to kill women only evidently?). Maybe Vatter[1]
has a version? Anyway, he did admit that when
an enemy was captured in war, although they
didn't kill him in the korke (he was a bit
shocked at the idea), they would kill him out-
side the kampong. His father did this, which
was quite decent after all!

754 He insists that there was no cannibalism at
[266] all, except that formerly (and even today?) the
suwanggi did it. They were and are evidently
the devils here. They do the things that other
people wouldn't. I wonder if perhaps they are
the scapegoats for past practices. That is,
they say that their ancestors never did such
things, only the suwanggi did them. But, note
that there were plenty of suwanggi. Roy's
father had to kill fourteen in one day in Le-
loba alone! There is something fishy here.
Either he won't tell everything, or else he has
forgotten, or else I am really wrong to suspect
him.

681 The death punishment was given only to suwang-
684 gi (again the devils). It was also given in
cases of adultery if the offenders were caught
red handed.

Thus my work in Leloba--Wailolong ended. Roy
115 is a fine old fellow. His only requests were to
●124 ride with me if I happened to be going the "same"
way," and to take his relatives and family along.
He also wanted some photographs, and I will send
him a photograph of me. And a copy of my book.
I will also send him some medicine for asthma.
How different he is from the begging and crafty
Endenese.

Roy probably won't live much longer. He is a
dramatic figure.

He, more than anyone else, probably, killed
off paganism here. But he retains the tolerance
and respect for his ancestors, and a knowledge
of and pride in the legends and old things.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

R

Men	married	Women
614 Djawa		Some other
582 Rewarangga		Wanda
Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin" [551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

We Weol: I started the last stretch of a week • 124 here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

We
●124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasanggrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

We

583 591 who may not have paid the bride price, and that is why they are living matrilocally (260, 285, 291, 296, 304, 347, and 352).

567 124 Then came the trouble. I saw that there were no slaves on the list, yet Coolhaas[1] said there are many slaves here, especially in Rahong, this dalu. He said that this may be true, but that the people just will not tell him who might be descended from slaves. This is the trouble I get into by using a lad who is not from the kampong himself. But this brought up something else. He is very afraid of everything. Yesterday he wouldn't start work until he had permission from van Bekkum[2] in writing. Also, he worries today lest the inspector find anything wrong with his school work. And he is very much afraid of my asking embarrassing questions. I tried to get him to guess how many slaves there were in the kampong, but he would not. He wouldn't even say how many he thought there are in his own kampong. Maybe this is one of the sorest points here. Maybe it is because they themselves were so often enslaved by the kraeng and others and had to pay taxes in slaves to Bima. I tried to shame him into trying harder to give me some information on this by saying that I thought I would have to write that maybe Manggarai had few or no slaves because they were slaves themselves. This shook him, and he even admitted it in a way.

567 As far as I could get it, the system is something like this. In the kampongs Veol and Ndung there probably never were very many slaves, because these people were pretty poor before, and indeed they had to pay quite a bit in tribute to the alien rulers. It was even hard for them to keep slaves, perhaps, because they had to pay a tax in slaves (but this may not have been very much). Anyway, Cornelius[3] says there were plenty of slaves in some other places, and he

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst] [3] [i.e., the assistant]

We

565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
[576] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

We

342 or another va'u, who will not carry the naga
776 with them. They buy entirely new wood, even to the very small pieces. They can use no part of the old house. I can see a house built with modern tools being torn down because the naga had turned bad (here again is an interesting case of technique and adat, the new and the old).

•124 This is all good information, but it came entirely through questioning, and I had to drag things out a bit, because he is very slow in giving information on his own. Here again I see the secrecy, the reluctance, and the fear which is exhibited so often here. He is under a strain, I think. He sets his jaw and almost groans as the information is pulled out.

This is all new material. I doubt that much of it if any has been published.

166 In the past fifty years I do not know how many people have come to live in this kampong area, but right now the entrants are as follows:

Ndung: 29 women have married in.
9 men have married in.
14 couples have moved in from the outside.

Veol: 27 women have married in.
4 men have married in.
4 couples have moved in from the outside.

None of the people who have come into these kampongs from other areas has come from far away. The farthest that any of them has come from is Todo. I made a list of every case, but there is no use to keep it, because there is no pattern. They are all from nearby places. The suku information is more important in order to see what suku have married in.

The incomers are of three types: women who normally marry in; men who abnormally come to live matrilocally, either because they have paid

We

609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one [576] hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here.

The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. I note that there are ● 124 several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

We

124 [197] will tell them. He says that the pastors do not like it if a guru gets too zealous. They want him to respect the old ways and go slowly. This is indeed crafty.

771 565 796 183 Among the thirty-nine dalu, about twenty of them are Christian, says the kraeng. About thirty per cent of the gelarang are Christian, says the kraeng, but the assistant says that this is true only of their heirs apparent. The trouble in regard to the rites which the gelarang must lead is still to come. For example, the heir apparent of the Veol gelarang is Serai, who is about twenty-five years old and a Catholic. What will happen? The assistant says that he must lead the rites, but they will have troubles reconciling the old with the new Catholic ways. But so far everyone, including the Catholics, must go through the ceremonies, because they are so closely related to their livelihood. Agriculture, on which everything depends, is unthinkable without the rites!

601 [115] Larantuka: I met Oudehand, "controleur" at Waingapu in Sumba, and had a talk with him. He worked in Leloba and is writing an article for "Indonesia" about the adat there. We got onto the subject of kinship terms, and he had this to say. He says that opu is the term for affinal relationships. This goes for both sides. Thus, with the qualifier belake (my term for mother's brother) opu belake means all the relatives with whom a man is related by marriage, that is, his wife's (mother's brother's daughter) group. And on the other side, he says opu wai(ng) means all the relatives-in-law on the father's sister's side, i.e., the man's sister's relatives-in-law. The general term opu, he says, he got for mother's brother, mother's brother's son, and father's sister (all man speaking), and perhaps also father's sister's son (man speaking).

We

533 797 [562] school is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] [611] price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

½ [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

We

585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she enters [783] ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has entered her husband's va'u. Then there is a [591] feast and they live patrilocally.

583 591 585 If there is no bride price paid, the boy merely goes and moves in with the girl's family. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a little one. This is not regarded as nice (and [124] note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

We

538 but many are still remembered. I get the idea that the decline here is not so great as in many other areas.

484 There is practically no desire here yet to go to places which are "happier."

721 266 There was no head-hunting here at any time, nor was there any cannibalism, although they did drink blood for revenge pleasure in war. There was no human sacrifice and no torture.

681 The death punishment was given for murder, a slave having sex relations with a kraeng woman, primary incest (but more distant incest was punished by a purifying rite only). The way the death punishment was carried out here and in Pongkor was to throw the victim down into a river from a high point.

411 231 Note: To kill a beast the people here use a spear or a long knife. It is nearly always the latter.

778 824 The tjompang tree may be only either waringin or dadap.

515 I see plenty of lice-plucking here. The pretty wife of the head guru I saw plucking the head of another woman. And I see this all over. And here, judging by the smell, they seldom bathe. I see no bathing places. Toilets are evidently holes in the ground enclosed by a screen. I don't remember seeing lice-plucking in Makassar or Buginese areas, but perhaps they do it too. I also do not remember seeing it in Ambon. The Toradja certainly do it. Note that the Endenese and people in Larantuka bathe. The Toradja don't. I think it is probably mountain people (especially the dirty Ngada) who do not bathe and also who have more lice. In this regard, note the Manggarai Ngada, Toradja, and Batak. The Minangkabau, although living in the mountains, bathe (a sign of former coastal life?).

● 124 Thus ended the Manggarai work, and the as-

We

●124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

114 Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
124 before the war by an assistant of his on Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulué Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu
[273] kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

1 [pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

We

	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
●124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

Wm

624
614
●[124]

I got the following information. However, in many cases the records did not jibe with the map, and others are questionable, so I sent him a letter about this.

Office	No.
Ama Datong kelake	24
Ama Datong ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Radja kelake (rank 2)	24
Ama Datong Ama Radja ne'a luka	26
Ama Datong Ama Radja tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Belolong kelake (rank 1)	35 (277 aide)
Ama Datong Ama Belolong ne'a luka	36
Ama Datong Ama Belolong tuno wudjo	
Ama Datong Ama Rere Kelake (no rank)	14
Ama Datong Ama Rere ne'a luka	(none)
Ama Datong Ama Rere tuno wudjo	
Kepala kottang	140 (Belolong)
Leworita kelake	345
Leworita ne'a luka	361
Leworita tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Subamaking kelake (rank 1)	345 (616 aide)
Leworita Subamaking ne'a luka	361
Leworita Subamaking tuno wudjo	355
Leworita Harutmaking kelake (rank 2)	304
Leworita Harutmaking ne'a luka	
Leworita Harutmaking tuno wudjo	245
Leworita Tapupukang kelake (rank 3)	375
Leworita Tapupukang ne'a luka	
Leworita Tapupukang tuno wudjo	
Kepala Keleng	366 (Harutmaking)
Ama Hurint kelake	186
Ama Hurint ne'a luka	
Ama Hurint tuno wudjo	

War

Clans

162 614 Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

582 614 162

	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

582 ●124 There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

We.

582 marriages, and the assistant will send a letter
[124] to me about this later.

[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

162
614

Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140